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REALISM IN EARLY SPANISH FICTION.

During the fifteenth century Spain had given to the world its best romances of chivalry, and various influences contributed to maintain the taste for them in the limited reading public of the time longer than their essential artificiality would have otherwise allowed. Among these influences students of Spanish literature have reckoned the impression that the brilliant career of the Black Prince was sure to make on friend and foe, the rapid promotion attained by Duguesclin and other such military adventurers, and to this may be added the contemporary establishment of the chivalrous orders of Calatrava, Santiago, Alcantara, Montega in Spain, and of the Templars throughout Europe.

But the world in which these romances had their shadowy being was too unreal not to pall on the taste and it is curious to see how an effort was made to reconcile it with reality before discarding it altogether. It seems to have occurred first to Don Enrique de Aragon to shelter the romance of chivalry under the mantle of allegory. In his "Twelve Labors of Hercules" he espouses the cause of women against the witty slanders of Boccaccio's "Corvaccio" with a clumsiness of style and language quite unworthy of his gracious subject and righteous cause. It is interesting, however, to see how Boccaccio's stinging sarcasms rankled in the chivalrous hearts of the Spaniards, for with zeal greater than their wit they attempted at least five other answers which contend with one another for the prize

of dreary worthlessness.[1] We may place all these roughly in the first half of the fifteenth century. The "Carcel de Amor" by Diego de San Pedro which seems to date from 1465 is the first to promise better things. It is true that like his predecessors he begins with an allegory, but he soon drifts into a tale of adventure much in the chivalrous style. The plot is at times clumsy, but the author writes more fluently than his predecessors and met with a success that he merited chiefly because he was the first to feel the readiness of the public to change its taste from the chivalrous to the sentimental romance. No doubt however his fame was fostered by the bitter opposition that the professional moralists of the time bestowed on his book, for this has been even to to our own day the most effective of advertisements.

Of far more importance than this, however, was the "Celestina," a realistic sketch in dramatic form which was probably written about the year 1480 and printed in 1499. It passed through twenty-two editions in the sixteenth century and was translated into English, German, Dutch, French and Latin. It found also innumerable continuers, adapters and imitators, and after giving great stimulus to dramatic production was itself put on the stage in altered form. For, though the "Celestina" calls itself a tragi-comedy, its twenty-one acts could never have never been put on the stage. It has been attributed to two hands, but the most probable critical opinion of the present day ascribes the whole work to Rojas, and he might well be proud of it for the drawing of character is of remarkable power. Europe can show nothing at this period that approaches it. Even the minor parts are treated with a precision that Lope and Calderon do not always rival.

The popularity of the "Celestina" however, was more

[1] They are: Francisco Ximenez, *El Libro de las Damas;* Alonzo de Cartagena, *El Libro de las Mujeres Illustres ;* Martin Alonzo de Cordoba, *Las Alabanzas de la Virginidad* and *Verjel de Nobles Doncellas ;* Rodriguez de la Camara, *El Triunfo de las Donas* and *El Sierve Libre de Amor;* Alvaro de Luna, *El Libro de las Virtuosas y Claras Mujeres.*

in accord with its merits than with its morals. Its style is easy and smooth beyond the usual degree of the time, though it errs sometimes by excess of ornament and erudition. It is made up of a decidedly unpleasant story of the bawd Celestina who gains by fair means and foul, mostly the latter, the love of Melibœa for her paymaster Calisto, and in doing so compasses her own and the general ruin.

To give in detail the plot of this tragi-comedy would be neither possible nor profitable. In deference to the religious prejudices of the audience the actors are made to profess the faith of pagan Rome. The coy heroine, Melibœa, who loved not wisely but too well, kills herself at last after revealing her sad tale to her father. Her lover meantime has met his death in falling from a ladder by which he had scaled the garden wall. This end is somewhat lame, however, for he is really the victim of a plot to avenge on the lovers the murder of two followers of two young women, pupils of Celestina in iniquity, who had perished after killing the old hag in a quarrel over the wages of their infamy. It is with this social class that the play has chiefly to do. Celestina dies in the twelfth of the twenty-one acts, but ten are taken up wholly with the conversation of persons of her class, and such take a considerable part in five others, while Calisto and Melibœa appear in but six scenes each. In the main, then, this piece attempts a realistic picture of the life of the vicious classes. It is in this a forerunner of the *novela picaresca* in Spain and of the naturalistic novel everywhere.

But the lead was not followed immediately. The first half of the sixteenth century, embracing the long reign and not inglorious career of Charles V. offers very little of interest and few signs of progress in romance. But we may discern the beginnings of historic fiction in the anonymous "Question de Amor" which bears its own date, April 17th, 1512. The Question is whether a lover suffers more who has lost his mistress by death or lost her respect. The chief interest, however, lies in the excellent description of the hunts, games, shows, feasts, and dress of the period. The

scene is laid in Italy which then and for some time after had for the Spaniards the charm of a land rich in romantic adventure. Somewhat similar in character is Juan de Flores' "Aurelio" and "Isabella" (1521) which possibly furnished hints for Shakspere's "Tempest." The work is valueless, however, and much the same can be said of "Clareo and Floresca," a sentimental allegory, and the similar "Luzindaro and Medusina," with which this branch of fiction seems to have lost its charm for the reading public, a fact that is much less remarkable than that it ever possessed it.

The place of allegory was taken by Pastoral fiction, which was as dull and rather more artificial. It is strange to note how slowly any true literary feeling develops and through what curious chrysalis states the literature of imagination has had to pass to attain its present strength and beauty. The first of the pastoral dreamers among Spaniards was Montemayor, whose "Diana Enamorada" (1542) is a decided improvement on Sannazaro's "Arcadia," but, like its continuations by Perez and Polo, so foreign to the critical taste of our day that it is hard to see how it could have found a publisher to venture or readers to endure. And yet its admirers, and imitators too, were among the greatest writers of the coming century, the golden age of Spanish literature. It was then that among a multitude of lesser lights,[1] Cervantes gave the world his "Galatea," the best of this class which after all is but little better than the worst. He indeed had wit enough never to finish it,[2] but Lope, here as elsewhere quick to imitate every success of his more generous rival, soon after entered the lists with his "Arcadia." This was the last important effort in a

[1] We may mention: Luis Galvez de Montalvo's *El Pastor de Filida*, Bernardo de Valbuena's *Siglo de Oro*, Antonio de Lafrasa's *Fortunar y Amor*, Bernardo de la Verga's *Pastor de Iberia*, Bernardo de Bobadilla's *Pastores de Hernares*, Bartolomé López de Enciso's *Desengano de Celos*, and Cristobal Suarez de Figueroa's *Constante Amarilis*.

[2] In Don Quixote, Chap. 6 (Pt. I.) "What book is this?" asks the Curate. "The *Galatea* of Miguel de Cervantes, said the Barber. This Cer-

manner that needed no other weight than its own dullness to drag it to the bottom of the sea of oblivion.

From the middle of the century onward the current of fiction divides. The short story makes its long-desired appearance and the tales of adventure and low life, the so-called *Novelas Picarescas* give welcome relief from the pastorals and from serious allegorical "heroic" fiction. This last form however was still to find its best representative in Gines Perez de Hita's "Civil Wars of Grenada" which the author gathered from the lips of Moors still living in his native Murcia. The first part of this historical romance, written between 1589 and 1595 may still be read with pleasure heightened by the spirited ballads which Hita collected from the mouths of the descendants of the actors themselves.

There can be little doubt that the satire of Cervantes, directed though it was against the romance of chivalry only, tended to discourage all serious fiction. Perhaps this may account for the failure of "El Cabalero Venturoso" to see the light, though the license to print was duly obtained in 1617. The work is said to be at least as good as the contemporary novels of Cispedes or the later ones of Lozano and Texada. An exception should be made perhaps in favor of "The Two Faithful Friends" (1625) which, though the scene is laid in Persia, seems to be intended to chronicle for the initiated the scandals and corruptions of the court.

The Pastoral and the Romance of Chivalry were destined to almost complete extinction. The new styles that were arising gave promise of greater permanence because they were more in accord with real life. Both the short story and the *Novela Picaresca* were based on studious observa-

vantes has been a friend of mine for many years and I know that he is more versed in misfortunes than in verses. His book has something of good invention, it proposes something but concludes nothing, so we must wait for the second part which he promises, for perhaps he will amend it so as to make it worthy of the favor now denied it. And till then, my friend, keep it shut up at home.".

tion rather than on fancy. They never became introspective or analytic but they were naturalistic in the best sense. For we must remember that many things had conspired to nurse in the normal life of the Spaniard of the seventeenth century the knavish roguery that is implied in this name. They had hardly recovered from the excited unrest of the Moorish Conquest when the treasures of the new world filled them with illusory dreams of wealth and while vastly swelling the ranks of the rich adventurers tended to increase still more the number of the parasites who preyed upon them. To complete the picture we must add that the new wealth permitted a greatly increased number of students whose natural tendency to the pranks of high spirits was fostered by the character of the times.

It is remarkable that the short story which might seem the most natural of literary forms should be so late to develop in almost all languages. The first distinctly marked productions in this style in Spain are two tales by Antonio de Villegas, whose "Historia de Narvaez" borrowed from the Moors was imitated but not improved by Lope and Cervantes. We may place his work about 1550.

It is a story of quite exceptional interest, and though Moorish in origin could not fail to attract the Spaniards whose pride it was suited to flatter. We are told how an exiled son of the ill-starred family of the Abencerrages is captured by the Spaniard Rodrigo de Navaez while on his way to his lady-love, the daughter of the commander of a Moorish fortress, whom he was that very night secretly to marry. The chivalrous Spaniard releases his captive on his promise to return, which indeed he does, bringing the young lady with him. But of course such generous self-surrender cannot be accepted, and by the intervention of Rodrigo the Moorish parents are reconciled and the children live happy ever afterward.

The original story, as the reader may come on it after plodding through the thousand columns of the contemporary Spanish fiction republished in the great collection of the

Autores Espanoles,[1] breathes a charming spirit of freshness and grace which rises occasionally to literary beauty of no mean order. Copied by Montemayor for his "Diana" and by Lope for a play, turned into ballads by Padillo and introduced by Cervantes into "Don Quixote," the story has become one of the most familiar in Spanish literature, but it belongs with all its merit to a sentimental school of fiction which was more at home among the Moors than among the Spaniards.

A quarter of a century later we find in the "Patrañuelo" of Juan de Timoneda an effort to make such a collection of stories from various sources as had existed in literary form for a long period in France and Italy. His aim is unambitious, however. He has collected but twenty-two rather short tales covering from four to eight duodecimo pages, each preceded by a quatrain of argument. The tales themselves are commonplace and far from well told. Still less ambitious are the same author's, "Sobremesa" and "Alivio de Caminantes," which are merely a collection of trifling jests of a few lines each, and the same will apply to the twelve "Cuentos" of Juan Aragones. The real originator of the short story as a recognized form of fiction is Cervantes, who in this is at once the first and the best of Spanish writers.

In his "Don Quixote" Cervantes had introduced tentatively a number of interesting interludes, the chief of which, "The Curious Impertinent" is avowedly an independent tale, but hardly more so than some others whose connection with the adventures of the quixotic knight are of the slightest. This was in 1604. He had written other similar sketches, for he mentions one of them, "Rinconte and Cortadillo," in this very part of his great satire, but it is clear that his artistic sense forbade him to interrupt the course of his "Don Quixote" with them, and the second part is free from this artistic blemish. The material seems to have grown on his hands, however, for in 1615,

[1] Autores Esp. Vol. III., pp. 507–512.

two years before the appearance of the second part of "Don Quixote" he published twelve Exemplary Tales, so called as he tells us in his prologue, "because if you consider them well there is not one from which a profitable example may not be drawn, and if it were not tedious I would show you the savory and honest fruit which might be gathered as well from all together as from each by itself. . . . One thing, I will venture to say that if by any means the reading of these novels should lead him who read them to any evil desire or thought, I would sooner cut off the hand that wrote them than publish them, for my age is not for joking with the other life. To this my thought applies itself and thither my inclination carries me, the more since I suppose, and it is so, that I am the first who has written tales in Castillian, for the many tales that circulate in it are all translated from foreign languages and these are my own, not imitated nor stolen. My genius begot them, my pen bore them and they are nursed in the arms of the press."

It seems, however, that Cervantes had not always been quite so scrupulous, for in a manuscript collection of tales made for the Archbishop of Seville between 1606 and 1610 there is found a story which is too good to be by any other hand, "La Tia Fingida." This tale, which is quite worthy of Boccaccio or Antoine de la Salle, was long cherished by the Jesuits of S. Hermengild who suffered a bowdlerized and disinfected copy of it to be printed in 1814 by Arrieta. The whole first appeared in Berlin in 1818 under the care of the noted Græcist F. A. Wolf. It is now always included in the collection and indeed is one of the best pieces of work in it. Were it not for the comparative purity of the Spanish literature as compared with the French or Italian it hardly seems as though it need have attracted serious animadversion in the age of Beroald and Brantôme.

It is difficult to characterize clearly and yet briefly these novels of Cervantes, they are so varied in character and in style. It is not unnatural that, as one who is feeling his way in an unknown region, he treads sometimes with an uncer-

tain step. What one must most insist upon is what he himself insists upon, that these tales are in no sense studies on foreign models, they are as national and as realistic as they are original and hence naturally better appreciated in Spain than abroad, but they differ very widely from one another so that the presumption is strong that they were composed at widely different periods, indeed with regard to some this is certain. We have already seen that "Rinconete and Cortadillo" must be placed before 1604. The "Española Inglesa" cannot be put before 1611, and "La Tia Fingida" is based on an incident that occurred in 1575. The scenes of these tales are usually those which Cervantes knew from personal observation. He had been a captive among the Turks from 1575 to 1580, then at Madrid till 1588, at Seville till 1598, then at Valladolid and at Madrid again. In early life he had passed four years in Italy, and it is probable that in the interval between 1598 and 1603 he had opportunity to study country life as well as to visit Toledo and Cordova, and doubtless Salamanca also. These, with lively pictures of the seaport of Barcelona and affectionate remembrances of the fishing girls of Zahara near Cadiz, would furnish the scenes of all these tales save the one that carries the reader for a time to the court of Elizabeth, with which, as with England, the author was clearly unfamiliar. If we examine the other stories as to their chief scenes we shall find that one only, the charming gipsy tale of "Preciosa," introduces us to Madrid, one deals almost wholly with Turkish captivity, one is wholly and two are partly located in Italy, three are stories of Seville and a fourth also in great part, two deal with Salamanca, two with Toledo, and three with Valladolid. Country life plays but a very small part anywhere, though there is rather bitter satire on pastoral fiction in the "Colloquy of the Two Dogs," which is the twelfth of the tales.

Some of these tales are not stories at all. "Rinconete and Cortadillo," for example, introduces us to two young scape-graces who are promptly brought to Seville and there introduced to the king of thieves, Monipodio. Almost the

entire *novela* is taken up with a really brilliant character sketch of this community of outlaws. The strange mingling of moral unscrupulousness with religious scruple, of desperate wickedness and cringing superstition so characteristic of the Spanish criminal classes, has never been painted in such faithful colors. The introduction of Monipodio into a second story, the Dogs' Colloquy, leads one to think that Cervantes must have found or sought opportunity to study the thoughts and feelings of this class by means of direct association with them during his stay at Seville. The Colloquy, also, as has been already said, is rather a satire on contemporary Spanish manners than a story. Then, too, the "Fraudulent Marriage" is hardly more than a prelude to the Colloquy that follows, and the "Glass Licentiate" is little more than a collection of sayings by a wise fool who had been the jest of Valladolid when Cervantes visited it. The nine tales that remain are in general of a romantic cast. In four of them the interest hangs on the recovery of a lost child. A lover's search for his lady or the lady's pursuit of the runaway lover forms the subject of three others. An amusing and somewhat pathetic tale of defeated jealousy, a charming sermon on the text "Love Laughs at Locksmiths," and in "La Tia Fingida" a rollicking account of the often-restored virginity of the *facilis puella* Esperanza and her final winning of a young, handsome, wealthy, and loving husband, complete the list. No one before him had done better what he undertook to do, and in Spain he is still unrivalled. And he may continue to be for we have fallen on evil times for the story of adventure, and the *novela picaresca*, radically naturalistic though it be, gives place to more serious studies of common life.

That the universal and somewhat jealous genius of Lope should be stirred to emulate the successful labors of Cervantes was but natural, and some eleven years after the publication of the *Novelas Exemplares* he printed in a miscellaneous volume three tales which, with one that had appeared three years before, made up the whole of his work in this

field, in which he showed his versatility and wide reading, but did not add particularly to his fame. But the number of rivals was enormous. Ticknor distinguishes among them with more or less praise Hidalgo, whose "Carnival of Castille" is made up of the briefest relations of the mad pranks that such a season invited. This book, published in 1605, followed the first part of "Don Quixote" with its interspersed tales, but preceded the "Exemplary Novels." The next prominent figure is Suarez de Figueroa, but he marks a retrogade tendency, reverting to the romantic types while the tendency of the short tale in the main was steadily realistic, often naturalistic.

This we find very well exemplified in Barbadillo, whose writing falls mainly in the second and third decade of the seventeenth century. Some of his work, especially the "Ingenious Helen, daughter of Celestina," comes very close to the *novela picaresca*, into which the short tale was finally to merge. To Barbadillo's "House of Respectable Amusements" we owe also the introduction into Spain of the plan of linking stories together by a minor plot such as Boccaccio had made classic in the "Decamerone." This afforded an opportunity for the insertion of songs and for introductions of a more or less theatrical character to the tales, which accorded, as Ticknor observes, with the taste of the time, and was artistically justifiable. It was, of course, no new thing. The "Arabian Nights" and the "Seven Wise Masters" had given a model to Boccaccio, and his scheme had been already improved upon by Chaucer and by Margaret of Angoulême. But however imperfectly presented, the idea was popular in Spain, and was almost immediately taken up by Tirso in his "Cigarrales de Toledo," and he in turn was copied by Montalvan, whose "Para Todos" was perhaps the most popular work of the kind during the century.

The succession of story-tellers now became unbroken and originality began to be sought in extravagance. Among the authors, and not the worst among them, were two ladies of noble birth, Mariana de Carbajal and Maria de Zayas

In the mass it is worth while to single out only the five tales of "The Various Effects of Love and Fortune" by Alonso de Alcala, and that not for any literary merit, but because each in turn is so written as to dispense with one of the five vowels of the alphabet, for such misplaced ingenuity is a sure prelude of literary decay.

An offshoot of the short tale that assisted the development of the *novela picaresca* is the satirical sketch for which the way had been indicated by Quevedo in his "Suenos." One of the first of these is probably the best known of all though not always under its own name. I mean the "Diablo Cojuelo," the "Limping Devil" of Louis Velez de Guevara, which forms the basis of the more famous "Diable Boiteux" of Le Sage. Since the scheme of the Spanish is essentially identical with that of the French satire, it is not necessary to describe it here. It affords occasion for vivid sketches of life in Spanish cities and among all classes of society, especially, of course, among the rogues, high and low. Excellent in its way, too, is his account of the University of Love where degrees are given on due examination for proficiency in amorous intrigue.

The best of the later writers of this kind however is Francisco Santos who also was freely used by Le Sage. Especially noteworthy is his "Truth on the Rack" where in company of the Cid and other worthies she is made to reveal the reality behind the outward show of the world. The bluff frankness of the Cid, who assures the bystanders that if they would give him such a world to live in he would not accept it, is peculiarly well sustained throughout. But the prominence of satire is also a sign that a *genre* has passed its fruitful season.

Long before Santos' time, however, the short story had undergone an important development. It was natural that in contrast to the long romances of chivalry or the pastoral novels the short tales should deal by preference with real life, should be naturalistic or at least realistic. But in the painting of real life it is natural that the vices should attract

more attention than the virtues, if for no other reason because they present themselves under a greater variety of forms and assume more interesting disguises, while virtue is more monotonously consistent and more natural. Moreover the majority of readers being themselves comparatively virtuous prefer to read of conditions that present some mark of novelty to them. Hence to-day novels written for the middle class deal largely with aristocracy, while the greatest successes in the higher walks of fiction have been in the portrayal to a cultured circle of the life of the lower and the lowest social strata.

This tendency will naturally be most marked where the reading public is most restricted, and in Spain it begins in the pastoral and chivalrous romances which reached here their first and highest development and were abandoned, with a unanimity and rapidity that is quite remarkable, for the novel of low life which had the double advantage in their eyes of being true to nature and yet foreign to experience.

In this, as in the other branches of fiction, Spain was much in advance of the rest of Europe. The French novelist Sorel, writing in 1664, says that the Spaniards were "the first who made their romances natural and diverting." The Spanish "Amadis" is at once the oldest and the best romance of chivalry and "Don Quixote" the oldest and best of all the satires on this class of work, the "Conde Lucanor" preceded the "Decamerone" by half a century, the "Diana" as a pastoral romance was long without a successful rival in Europe, and so too these *novelas picarescas*, the naturalistic fiction of the day, were produced as Ticknor says, "when the rest of Europe, with a partial exception in favor of Italy, was not yet awakened to corresponding efforts of the imagination, before Madame de Lafayette had published her "Zaïde"; before Sidney's "Arcadia" had appeared or D'Urfe's "Astrée," or Corneille's "Cid," or Le Sage's "Gil Blas." In short they were at the height of their fame just at the period when the Hôtel de Rambouillet reigned supreme over the taste of France and

when Hardy, following the indications of the public will and the example of his rivals, could do no better than bring out upon the stage of Paris nearly every one of the tales of Cervantes and many of those of Cervantes' rivals and contemporaries." Thus Spain led the world in fiction till political causes left her behind in the march of civilization. From that time till comparatively recent days she has taken her inspiration from France.

The *novela picaresca* is one of the most interesting phases of all Spanish literature. If the "Celestina" be reckoned as a drama, "Lazarillo de Tormes" will be at once the first and one of the best of this class.[1] It is, therefore, the more to be regretted that its authorship should be somewhat uncertain. It has usually appeared under the patronage of Hurtado de Mendoza, a statesman of no small note at the court of Charles V. and Philip II. But though the first edition of the tale appeared in 1553 and the next year brought three others, while revisions, additions, continuations, and translations, followed almost annually, it is not till 1607 that the name of the learned Mendoza, the collector of manuscripts, bibliophilist, historian, and diplomatist, is mentioned in connection with this little but important pamphlet. It seems hardly possible that he, with all his varied genius, could have known the poverty-stricken life of the lower classes in Spain so intimately as the author of this book must have known it. Other reasons, too, serve to dispose us to the somewhat later opinion which ascribes the work to Juan de Ortega, a monk of St. Jerome, who as mendicant friar had ample means to know by experience what Mendoza could only have surmised.[2] For the tale displays an astonishing keenness of perception of the desolation to which her foreign glories had reduced all Spain, and especially the country population.

[1] *Autores Espanoles*, Vol. III., pp. 77–90; first continuation, ib. 91–100; second continuation (Luna), 100–128.

[2] Those who seek a fuller discussion of this question will find it well treated by Morel-Fatio in his *Etudes sur l'Espagne*, and most satisfactorily in Laufer's *Der erste Schelmenroman*, Stuttgart, 1889.

The opening scene introduces us to Lazarillo, who had been so-called from the stream of that name, for he was born in a mill over it. His father, the miller, is a thief who presently suffers the penalty of his crime. The mother associates herself with a Moor who soon comes to a like end. In these straits she is glad to rid herself of the son by giving him to be a blindman's guide. Their various schemes to trick one another give a brilliant though rather drastic picture of miserly beggary and heartlessness. The boy at length arranges with diabolical calmness to let the blind man stun himself by leaping violently against a stone pillar, and escapes from him to fall into the hands of a clergyman, his second master.

Here, too, he suffers from miserly meanness and is driven to seek food to supplement his ridiculously scanty fare by pilfering a chest where the priest was wont to keep the remains of blessed bread used for distribution in church. The only relief to his hunger were the funeral feasts. He grows to feel a ghoulish delight when summoned to attend the priest for the last sacraments and a horrid regret if the patient chances to recover. Here we have also a curious picture of the priest at the offering, with one eye on the bag in which the boy collected the offerings, and the other on the fingers of the youth lest he should filch anything from it. "His eyes rolled about his head as though they were of quicksilver." One of the most famous and familiar passages of the entire piece relates the various fortunes of the contest of the servant for a share in what he called the "bread paradise" of the priest. He procures a duplicate key to the box. His peculations are observed. He makes holes in it that they may be attributed to mice. He carries the key in his mouth, and is at last discovered by a whistling noise which he chances to make with it there in his sleep. The priests remarks, as he discharges him: "I can't have so smart a servant as you. You must have been a blindman's boy."

Then Lazarillo passes to the service of the most sym-

pathetic of the characters of the whole book, a poor nobleman, antetype of Calderon's Don Mendo in the "Alcade of Zalamea," and of many and many another in Spanish comedy and romance, empty of stomach and purse but full of dignity and a certain *pundonor* which finds its highest representative in the Knight of the Woeful Countenance. In his service hunger drives Lazarillo to beg food for both alike, and yet we find only natural his touching loyalty to this companion in poverty, and we listen with a certain admiration to the knight's distorted notions of honor for which with his eyes open he has sacrificed his livelihood. Though the shrewd Lazarillo says rightly enough: "Dear God: how many there may be like him in the world who for a whim that they call honor bear what they would not bear for Thy sake."

This master is at length constrained to fly from his creditors and Lazarillo falls for a brief week into the services of a friar, as fond of society and "the worthy women of the town" as ever he was of the Canterbury pilgrimage. He gave the boy the first shoes he ever had, but he made him wear them out too speedily on his many errands, and so he was glad to seek service with a peddler of indulgences.

The conduct of this, his fifth master was no doubt typical of a phase of the religious life of the time, but it is no wonder that the keen satire aroused the denunciation of the Inquisition. All the more significant it becomes that the criticism was generally recognized as true and hence it was found hopeless to suppress it. For though this as well as the preceding chapter was omitted in the emasculated edition of 1573 and while the Inquisition endured, that is till 1831, was never afterward printed in Spain, yet countless editions printed in France and elsewhere made it familiar. The passage is even cited *in extenso* in a school reader intended for South American use.

The trickery and pretended miracles of the indulgence monger are after all only such as Chaucer's Pardoner would have employed. He used to bribe the country clergy who

are exhibited here as both wretchedly poor and wretchedly ignorant, he imposes on the wealthy by his pretended learning and tricks the credulous laity by cures and exorcisms practised on his well trained confederates so that they become eager purchasers of his spiritual wares. Even young Lazarillo is shocked by the blasphemy when at last it is revealed to him.

Reflecting that "many such jests may be played by tricksters on the credulous" he seeks service with a painter and then with one of the cathedral clergy who seems to have combined with his clerical office the worldly one of a water carrier. In this service Lazarillo gets a start in life and attains the poor Spaniard's ambition, to dress in fine clothes though they be cast off ones. He abandons his menial duties and reaches at length that second goal of Spanish ambition, an office, "for," as he says "he saw no one could get on without one." First he became a messenger in a police court, then a town crier of wines. In this function he won the esteem of a priest who vouchsafed to marry him to one of his female retainers at the scandal of whose continued presence in the priest's house he chose to turn a deaf ear, for did not the amiable prelate assure him that "one who listens to scandal will never be happy?"

So ends the original "Lazarillo." The author seems to have intended a continuation of which the fragment introducing the German mercenary troops was probably designed to make a part. But the book did not lack supplementers. Yet one and all of them failed to see that in bringing his hero to an independent condition the author had brought his book to an artistic conclusion. No one who has read the efforts of Martin Nuncio and Luna will counsel the "courteous reader" to a like trial of his patience. These continuators, often men whose talents deserved a more worthy employment, fell on all the great works of Spanish fiction of this time, like crows on carrion. It is a curious chapter in the trials of authors and the history of the development of the idea of literary property.

"Guzman de Alfarache,"[1] the first independent work in the style of the "Lazarillo," did not appear till nearly a half century later. Like his prototype Guzman leaves his widowed mother and is tossed about in the world as scullion, errand boy, thief, fine gentleman, gambler, soldier, beggar, and cardinal's page till Aleman leaves him in the service of a French diplomatist. This much was printed in 1599. Aleman took up the story again in 1605, satirizing fiercely a conscienceless imitator, Sayavedra, and carrying his hero through various changes of fortune to the galleys. A third part the author promised but never wrote.

The vogue of Spanish literature at this time may be judged from the fact that this story, which to modern readers will seem at the least tedious, was translated into English, French, German, Dutch, Portuguese, Italian, and Latin. Le Sage in the next century based upon it his own tale of like name and improved it greatly by purging it, as he says, of "its superfluous moral reflections."

Other literary efforts in this direction can only be named here. The year that saw the second part of "Guzman" saw also the "Picara Justina," a work of very considerable length which is but dreary reading, and thirteen years later Espinel published his "Marcos de Obregan," interesting to us especially as being the starting point of "Gil Blas," Le Sage's most famous novel. Mention is due also to Yanez, a physician of Segovia, whose "Alonzo Servant of Many Masters" was published from 1624 to 1626. But the next year saw a far more important production, probably the best work of this kind in Spain, Quevedo's "Paul the Sharper," which still continues to interest the literary world and has recently been reprinted both in French and English with elaborate illustrations.

Some idea of the character of the tale may be got from even a brief summary. Paul is the son of a barber and a bawd, and brought up to steal. A bright chapter on his life

[1] In Autores Españoles, Vol. iii. pp. 185-363. The continuation by Mateo Luzan, ib. 363-430.

at school, with the Twelfth-tide celebration where he is "king," is followed by perhaps the most ghastly account of boarding-school horrors that literature affords, though the subject is well worn. From school he goes, as a sort of fag for a fellow student, to the University of Alcalá. Several chapters are occupied with student pranks here, but presently he betakes himself back to Segovia to assume the inheritance of his father, whom his uncle, the hangman, had executed. The drunken carouses in the executioner's house, where they ate mince-pies "with a short prayer for the soul to whom the flesh belonged," is disgusting, but interesting as a study of manners. Paul's life as a sharper begins with his life in Madrid, which fills the latter and larger half of the tale. Scenes of shifty poverty, of prison life, of gambling and luxurious debauchery, follow in quick succession. At last he goes off with a troop of actors to Toledo,[1] and after gambling, drinking, and murdering, betakes himself at last in the company of a woman quite worthy of him to the West Indies.

The story is witty, and briskly told. We do not feel the omnipresent gnawing of hunger as in the "Lazarillo," but on the other hand "Paul" has a less artistic close. Though it contains some filthy expressions and scenes, the book cannot justly be called immoral, and even in this regard it is much cleaner than the "Visions" of the same author. And yet, in spite of its excellence, it is clear that with Paul of Segovia the *novela picaresca*, pure and simple, began to pall. The works that followed, as for instance the popular "Seville Weasel" of Solorzano are, as Ticknor has observed, less strictly picaresque. A romantic element begins to intrude itself, and the general character becomes less

[1] Here occurs this passage, interesting for the history of the Spanish Drama. "We acted a play written by one of the actors, and I was surprised that they were poets, for I thought that that belonged only to learned men and wise and not to such lay fellows; but now the way is that there is no author (stage manager) who does not write comedies, nor actor who does not make his farce of Moors and Christians." He implies that it had been different formerly in the day of Lope de Rueda and Ramon.

true to the every day life of the time, as we may see it, for instance, in the autobiography of that court-fool of Octavio Piccolomini, Estavanillo Gonzalez, a scholarly, poetical, lying, cowardly scoundrel, who as cook, footman and body servant, had served other distinguished men in many parts of Europe. The study of such books as this and the contemporary German "Simplicissimus" should satisfy us that the *novela picaresca* is no grotesque exaggeration. It is a study from life, and therefore it continues to interest us while the romances of chivalry, the pastorals and the so-called moral fiction of the time, have practically perished from the minds of men. And has it not also a political lesson? Was it worth while to gather the gold and silver of the Indies, to destroy the civilization and enslave the populations of Mexico and Peru to produce the national development to which Lazarillo and Paul and Guzman and Estevanillo bear witness?

J. A.